

TELEGRAM INFORMATION REPORT TELEGRAM

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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COUNTRY FRANCE UNITED KINGDOM ITALY WEST GERMANY REPORT NO. TDCS -3/544,836

SUBJECT VIEWS [REDACTED]
ON THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SCENE

DATE DISTR. 23 APRIL 1963

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EO 12958 3.4(b)(1)-25Yrs
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PLACE &
DATE ACQ.
APPRAISAL 2

FIELD REPORT NO. OFP 12549-

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SOURCE [REDACTED]

EO 12958 3.4(b)(1)-25Yrs
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~~BELK~~
~~BURRIS~~
~~DAVIS~~
~~DUNGAN~~
~~FELDMAN~~
~~FORRESTAL~~
~~HILSCH~~
~~JOHNSON~~
~~KATSET~~
~~KILDUFF~~
~~KOMER~~
~~LONGERRE~~
~~PARROTT~~
~~SAUNDERS~~
~~SCHLESINGER~~
~~TAVESMER~~

EO 12958
3.4(b)(1)-25Yrs
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1. ITALIAN POLITICS. [REDACTED] WHO IS A LIBERAL BELIEVES THAT THE POLITICAL POLICY OF THE "OPENING TO THE LEFT" IS NOT AS DANGEROUS AS CERTAIN PEOPLE BELIEVE. [REDACTED] BELIEVES [REDACTED] REALIZES THAT COMMUNISM AND ITALIAN MAXIMALISM ARE NO LONGER CONSONANT WITH THE CURRENT PHASE OF THE EVOLUTION OF EUROPEAN CAPITALISM. IT WAS [REDACTED] WHO FIRST SPOKE OF NEO-CAPITALISM AND [REDACTED] APPEARS TO BE COMPLETELY CONVINCED THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO ADOPT A NEW COURSE FOR SOCIALIST POLITICS. [REDACTED] RECALLED THE EXTREME OPPORTUNISM [REDACTED] HAS MANIFESTED THROUGH-

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GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
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STATE/INR	DIA	ARMY/ACSI	NAVY	AIR	JCS	SECDEF	NSA	NIC	AID	USIA	OCI	ONE	OCR	ORR	OBI	OO	EXO
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MANDATORY REVIEW
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TDCS -3/544,836

IN 23723

PAGE 2

OUT HIS POLITICAL CAREER AND STATED THAT COOPERATION WITH NEO-CAPITALISM IS DESIRABLE TO [REDACTED] ON ONE CONDITION: THAT HIS PARTY FOLLOWS HIM. [REDACTED] DOES NOT, HOWEVER, WANT TO RISK NOT BEING SUPPORTED BY [REDACTED] PARTY AND IS AFRAID TO FOLLOW THE LEAD OF VARIOUS SOCIALISTS WHO HAVE QUIT THE SOCIALIST PARTY. IN OTHER TERMS, [REDACTED] FEARS VERY MUCH TO BE A NEW TURNCOAT AND THIS IS THE REASON FOR THE SLOWNESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIS POLITICS. HE NOW BELIEVES THAT HE CAN TAKE THE RISK AND THAT HE WILL NOT LOSE MORE THAN A THIRD OF HIS PARTY IF HE STRENGTHENS HIS POLITICS.

EO 12958
3.4(b)(1)>25Yrs
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2. [REDACTED] ESTIMATED THAT [REDACTED] AND THE OTHER CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS UNDERSTAND THIS EVOLUTION OF [REDACTED] AND THAT IS WHY COLLABORATION WITH [REDACTED] IS POSSIBLE. [REDACTED] BELIEVES, THEREFORE THAT IF THE ELECTIONS SUPPORT THE POLICY OF THE "OPENING TO THE LEFT", [REDACTED] WILL TAKE SOME SPECTACULAR STEPS TOWARD ATLANTISM AND THAT [REDACTED] WILL BE INVITED TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES.

EO 12958
3.4(b)(1)>25Yrs
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3. [REDACTED] THINKS THAT ONE OF THE REASONS [REDACTED] HAS CHANGED TOWARD ATLANTISM IS BECAUSE [REDACTED] BELIEVES THAT AN AGREEMENT IS NOW POSSIBLE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. CONSEQUENTLY, [REDACTED] IS HOSTILE TOWARD DE GAULLE'S POLITICS, BECAUSE [REDACTED] BELIEVES THAT DE GAULLE'S POSITION TOWARD RUSSIA IS MUCH MORE RIGID AND THAT [REDACTED] MAY ENDANGER ALL POSSIBLE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND THE UNITED STATES. IN RESPONSE TO THE SUGGESTION THAT [REDACTED] POLITICS,

EO 12958
3.4(b)(1)>25Yrs
(C)

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~~SECRET~~
(When Filled In)~~NO FOREIGN DISSEM~~

TDCS -3/544,836

IN 23723

PAGE 3

LIKE THOSE OF DE GAULLE, THREATENED TO CANCEL ALL MEANING OF THE ATLANTIC PACT, [REDACTED] STATED THAT IF THE POLICY OF THE "OPENING TO THE LEFT" IS SUPPORTED IN THE COMING ELECTIONS, THE FOREIGN MINISTER (C) WILL BE M. SARRAGAT WHO IS AN UNCONDITIONAL ATLANTIST. HOWEVER, [REDACTED] REFUSED TO PREDICT THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS.

EO 12958
3.4(b)(1) > 25 Yrs

4. GERMAN POLITICS. IN MAY 1958, CHANCELLOR ADENAUER WAS VERY MUCH DISTURBED BY THE ELECTION OF DE GAULLE TO POWER. HOWEVER, WHEN THE TWO MEN MET EACH OTHER ADENAUER WAS COMPLETELY WON OVER, PRIMARLY BECAUSE ADENAUER DISCOVERED THAT HE AND DE GAULLE AGREED ON MANY FUNDAMENTAL POINTS. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] AND CONTRARY TO WHAT EVERYONE BELIEVES, ADENAUER IS A NATIONALIST. A NATIONALIST, WHO UNLIKE OTHER GERMAN NATIONALISTS, HAS NEVER BEEN ANTI-FRENCH. IF THIS NATIONALISM HAS BEEN SUBORDINATED TO HIS DEVOTION TO EUROPE, IT IS BECAUSE ADENAUER HAS PERFECTLY UNDERSTOOD, AS THE LEADER OF A GREAT STATE WHICH HAS BEEN CONQUERED, THAT HE CAN NEVER REBUILD HIS COUNTRY WITHOUT HIDING BEHIND THE EUROPEAN IDEA TO AVOID CALLING ATTENTION TO GERMAN NATIONALISM.

EO 12958 3.4(b)(1) > 25 Yrs
(C)

5. IN [REDACTED] VIEW, ADENAUER LIKE DE GAULLE HAS DEEPLY UNDERESTIMATED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE COMMUNIST FACTOR IN SOVIET POLITICS. ADENAUER BELIEVES SOVIET POLITICS ARE BASED ON TRADITIONAL IMPERIALISM, NOT IDEOLOGICAL IMPERIALISM. THAT IS WHY, WHEN ADENAUER WENT TO MOSCOW, HE BELIEVED THAT HIS VOYAGE WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL BECAUSE HE

EO 12958
3.4(b)(1) > 25 Yrs
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~~SECRET~~
(When Filled In)

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TDCS -3/544,836

IN 23723

PAGE 4

THOUGHT A DEAL WITH MOSCOW ON THE SUBJECT OF EAST GERMANY WAS POSSIBLE. HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND THAT AMONG THE REASONS THE SOVIETS ARE REMAINING IN GERMANY, THE MOST IMPORTANT IS TO MAINTAIN COMMUNISM THERE. ALSO, LIKE DE GAULLE, ADENAUER HAS OVERESTIMATED THE DEPTH OF THE SOVIET-CHINESE QUARREL. TO BE EXACT, ADENAUER BELIEVES THAT THIS RIFT WILL SOON LEAD TO A PROFOUND CHANGE IN SOVIET POLITICS. HE BELIEVES THAT THE SOVIETS, FEELING THEMSELVES SERIOUSLY THREATENED BY THE CHINESE, WILL TURN TOWARD GERMANY, FRANCE, AND GENERALLY TOWARD EUROPE, SEARCHING THERE FOR AN ALLIANCE AGAINST ASIA. AT THAT MOMENT, ADENAUER BELIEVES THAT THE SITUATION WILL BE RIPE FOR AN ADVANTAGEOUS SETTLEMENT OF THE GERMAN PROBLEM BY AN ACCORD BETWEEN EUROPE AND RUSSIA WITHOUT CONCERN FOR THE AMERICAN POSITION. [REDACTED] ADDED THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT ADENAUER WOULD HESITATE TO ACCEPT A SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD BE DETRIMENTAL AND INSULTING TO THE AMERICANS.

EO 12958
3.4(b)(1)-25Yrs
(C)

6. DE GAULLE'S EUROPEAN POLICY. [REDACTED] WAS NOT SURPRISED BY DE GAULLE'S 14 JANUARY PRESS CONFERENCE. [REDACTED] ESTIMATES THAT THE REACTION OF THE FIVE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMON MARKET WAS EVEN STRONGER THAN IS GENERALLY BELIEVED. [REDACTED]

AND THAT IT [REDACTED] EO 12958
3.4(b)(1)-25Yrs
(C)

WAS FIRMLY STATED. [REDACTED] ALSO BELIEVES THAT THE RUPTURE BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE OTHER FIVE COUNTRIES WILL BE ACCENTUATED IN THE COMING MONTHS, BECAUSE DE GAULLE WILL NOT RECOGNIZE THE LIMITS OF HIS

CLASSIFICATION — DISSEMINATION CONTROLS

~~SECRET~~

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SECRET (When Filled In)	NO FOREIGN DISSEM	TDCS-3/544,836	IN 23723
			PAGE 5

POLICY. [REDACTED] ILLUSTRATED THIS VIEW WITH DE GAULLE'S STATEMENT TO MACMILLAN AT RAMBOUILLET THAT "NEITHER GERMANY NOR ITALY WILL DARE DISOBEY ME". [REDACTED] SAID HE LEARNED THIS FROM THE ELYSEE ENTOURAGE, NOT MACMILLAN.) BECAUSE OF THIS ATTITUDE OF DE GAULLE, [REDACTED] BELIEVES THAT DE GAULLE WILL NOT ONLY OPPOSE ALL EFFORT TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND BUT WILL ALSO TRY TO BRING ABOUT THE FAILURE OF COMMERCIAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. [REDACTED] BELIEVES THE RESULT WILL BE A MAJOR CRISIS IN EUROPE WHICH WILL END BY A REAPPROACHMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN, THE OTHER FIVE, AND THE REMAINING MEMBERS OF THE FREE EXCHANGE ZONE. THIS WILL RESULT IN AN ACCORD TO WHICH FRANCE WILL BE INVITED TO ADHERE IF SHE WISHES. THE CRISIS WILL BE EVEN MORE SERIOUS IF THE ITALIAN AND GERMAN PARLIAMENTS DO NOT RATIFY THE AGRICULTURAL POLICY WISHED BY FRANCE. THE DEPARTURE OF ADENAUER WILL ALSO DEPRIVE DE GAULLE OF ONE OF HIS TRUMP CARDS. THE UNFORTUNATE CONSEQUENCE OF ALL THIS IS THAT EUROPE HAS A GOOD CHANCE OF BEING BROKEN AND ALMOST DESTROYED BY SUCH A SHOW OF FORCE.

EO 12958
3.4(b)(1)>25Yrs
(C)

7. THE POLICY OF GREAT BRITAIN. [REDACTED] FEELS CERTAIN THE SOCIALISTS WILL WIN IN THE ELECTIONS AND BELIEVES THIS IS ALSO WHAT THE AMERICANS WISH. [REDACTED] BELIEVES WILSON IS FREER TO ACT THAN HIS PREDECESSOR BECAUSE HE HAS MADE FEWER BOLD DECLARATIONS. [REDACTED] BELIEVES THE BRITISH PEOPLE ARE CONVINCED THAT GREAT BRITAIN MUST BELONG TO AN

EO 12958 3.4(b)(1)>25Yrs
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CLASSIFICATION — DISSEMINATION CONTROLS

~~NO FOREIGN DISSEM~~

TDCS-3/544,836

IN 23723

PAGE 6

ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AND HE DOES NOT DISCARD THE POSSIBILITY OF
SUDDEN CHANGE IN THE LABOR PARTY'S EUROPEAN POLICY. [REDACTED] FINDS
MOST CHARACTERISTIC IN THE BRITISH POSITION THE RECOGNITION OF AMERICAN
PRIMACY BY ALL PARTIES. HE FEELS BRITAIN IS THE ONLY COUNTRY IN
THE WORLD WHICH DECLARES THAT THE AMERICAN FORCE IS SUCH THAT THE
ONLY POLICY IS TO ACT IN CONSORT WITH THE UNITED STATES. IT IS
BECAUSE OF THIS ATTITUDE THAT THERE IS A SPECIAL BOND BETWEEN WASHINGTON
AND LONDON AND IN [REDACTED] BELIEF, THE BRITISH ATTITUDE IS THE
WISEST AND CERTAINLY THE MOST EFFICIENT.

EO 12958
3.4(b)(1)-25Yrs
(C)

8. FIELD DISSEM: AMBASSADOR [REDACTED] EMBASSY POLITICAL SECTION,
EUCOM, CINCNELM.

EO 12958 3.4(b)(1)-25Yrs
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